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Sudan, and the role played by French forces in supporting the agent Habre's gangsters in their aggression on the southern part of the Great Jamahiriya.

While the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya strongly condemns this colonialist logic, which is opposed to the freedom of history, it retains the right to defend itself against any threat that may result from the presence of imperialist military bases near its international border.

#### French Envoy Summoned

LD0405182488 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1750 GMT  
4 May 88

[Text] Tripoli, 4 May (JANA) — The People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison today summoned the French ambassador to the Jamahiriya.

The committee conveyed to him the Jamahiriya's rejection of the statement made by the French minister for cooperation to Paris radio announcing the decision of the French Government concerning the new airport in Faya-Largeau, in northern Chad. The committee asked him for an explanation of these statements.

#### Official Criticizes Egypt for Camp David Accords

LD0405184088 Tripoli JANA in English 1635 GMT  
4 May 88

[Text] Tripoli, Al-Ma' [May] 4, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—Responding to a question from JANA's political editor regarding a statement the Egyptian regime's foreign minister gave to AL-SIYASAH Kuwaiti newspaper, an official source at the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison stated the following:

Recently statements by Egyptian official had been in abundance on the nationalist initiative by the leader of the Great Al-Fatih Revolution concerning the removal of boundaries set by colonialism between Great Jamahiriya and the neighbouring sisterly Arab countries and his announcement that Jamahiriya is the country for all Arabs, granting the freedom of movement for citizens between Jamahiriya and sisterly countries—including Egypt, the withdrawal of military concentrations from the borders with Egypt and the declaration of Jamahiriya's readiness to listen to the justifications from the Egyptian regime for its continued preservation of the treacherous David stable accords.

At the same time we confirm the firmness of the Libyan Arab stance — expressed by the leader's initiative, we seek to clarify the following:

Libyan policies and stances are clear and constant. It matches deeds with words. Our stance towards the David stable accords did not, and will never change. This represents a national treason and surrender to the enemy which aims at the very Arab existence itself.

On that base, we have rejected, and continue to reject any dealing with the Egyptian regime as long as it continues to adhere to the Camp David accords and to normalise its relations with the enemy.

Such a stance stems from the understanding of the truth about the Arab-Zionist conflict. It is regrettable that an Arab official speaks about rhetoric to Arab existence.

Some have been accustomed to talk for each side in a different language it wishes to hear while it knows that the Egyptian regime talks to the Arabs about the Camp David accords and its relations with the enemy—a language its deeds refute.

What is the Egyptian regime practically translating through its relations with the U.S. and the Zionist enemy contradicts with what it is saying to the Arabs.

The Libyan stance is firm and rigid, for it stems from a free resolve no one has any influence upon—as in the case of those who look for excuses and feeble proofs to justify stances that contradict with the national interests.

#### Al-Qadhdhafi Speaks to Basic People's Congress

LD0305120888 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic  
1935 GMT 2 May 88

[Speech by Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi to the Basic People's Congress in Tripoli; from the studio—live or recorded]

[Text] Good evening. I hope your fasting is accepted by God. In the name of God, on the occasion of the holding of emergency people's congresses which were called for by the standing secretariat of the General People's Congress based on its proposal of 2 March, the anniversary of the declaration of the establishment of the people's power and the Jamahiriya, I want to explain some points which I think are fundamental and important for the people's congresses to discuss.

Naturally, the decision is up to the people's congresses in the jamahiri system. What concerns me is that the revolutionary decisions I have made, and the practical side of those decisions, should have a permanent character; they should not be violated, because I want freedom to be confirmed and people to be reassured, because worries in one's life spoil one's happiness—especially worries concerning one's freedom, conduct, or economic and political condition.

Security—who provides them with food against hunger and security against fear—fear must be combated and defeated. Worry must be cleared away, so that we can set off in high spirits, and, thank God, the people are in high spirits these days, and this is what we want. It does not matter whether we are rich or poor, or whether we are at war or living in peace. What matters is that we have high morale. This is a fundamental precondition for life, progress, and creation.

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I want the people's morale to be high, and that of our future generations and our nation. This cannot come about through nonsense; it can take place by stressing the defeat of fear and worry. The safeguard of liberty is fundamental, and any seemingly incorrect practices that took place in the past as a result of the violent and important changes over almost 20 years were compulsory and right, and without which the revolution might have failed, the people's achievements might have been threatened, and the people's power might not have existed.

The revolutionary and violent measures, including capital punishment and prison—all the measures that were taken in the past—were in fact right. They were decisive measures that had to be taken to secure the march for change. But now the people's power is confirmed, and we want to start a new period wherein everything is devoted to the people's service, the confirmation of the people's power, and the safety of the future of the people. We want it to be the entire Arab people's future, not that of the Libyan Arab people only.

Among the things that, in my opinion, emphasize and consolidate the freedom of the citizen and help him eliminate fear and worry about his future are the following points which I submit tonight to the people's congresses.

First, concerning imprisonment: Imprisonment is the restriction of freedom. Should a human being be imprisoned or free? This is a question which should be defined with precision. Imprisonment should only be for those whose freedom constitutes a danger or a corruption for others. Those whose freedom does not constitute a danger or a corruption for others should not be imprisoned. You cannot imprison two people who have a fight, or somebody who is late, or somebody who is absent. He who is imprisoned is a lost human being. If we take a soldier from battle and lock him up, what would we benefit from his period of imprisonment?

The conditions for imprisonment have been exaggerated to a great extent. For everything — imprison, imprison, imprison! Imprisonment could be replaced with something else. It could be replaced with a fine, or with [word indistinct], or with disapprobation. It could be replaced with a redoubling of work, or with transfer from one place to another, and so on. Everything which can be considered as an obstacle or deterrent could...[changes thought] We could avoid imprisonment because he who is imprisoned is a human being we lost; we locked him up. How can we benefit from someone who is locked up?

Therefore, for whom should imprisonment be? It is for those whose freedom constitutes a danger or a corruption for others. If your freedom constitutes a danger or a corruption for others, the longer you are free the more of a danger or a corruption you will be. In this case, your freedom should be restricted. This is something logical and natural, and two people cannot differ over it. But

who should decide that the freedom of this individual constitutes a danger or a corruption for others? The court; the court should assess this. It is for no one but the court to decide.

The death penalty: It is my opinion that the death penalty should be cancelled, not only in Libya but in the whole world because it is a repugnant penalty and, as I have said, only He who created man should be the one to interfere in his life. However, I know that the people do not accept this and that this is the second time I have proposed the cancellation of the death penalty. The first time the proposal was rejected, and I expect it will be rejected this time on a number of pretexts.

On the military side, military men say that whoever runs away from the field, leaves his weapons to the enemy, shows weakness, causes a military defeat for the country, or the occupation of part of the homeland should be executed so that other will not emulate him, thus leading to a collapse on the front. Those who interpret the Koran which is directed at the Israelis just as it is directed at the Muslims, [words indistinct] an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—this is directed at the sons of Israel. However, you cannot convince the Muslims that this is directed at the sons of Israel. Few of those who read the Koran are aware that this is directed at the sons of Israel. Nevertheless, those who use religion as a pretext, in particular, Islam, say that he who kills must in turn be killed, and so on. I know all these pretexts will ensure that the death penalty will remain.

To whom should the death penalty apply? The death penalty should properly apply to the person whose life constitutes a danger or a corrupting influence on the organization of society—not his freedom, his life. Thus, if we imprison him he would still constitute a danger for or a corrupting influence on society, for individuals, for the whole society. Let us take an example. Let us assume we have a herd of gazelles. One of the gazelles butts the other, or eats its food, or if one gives birth, the other kills its offspring. How do you deal with it, when you have a group of goats, cows, sheep, or gazelles on a farm and one of them behaves in a vicious manner? Do you kill it? No, this is not right, you do not kill it. You isolate it. This is because its freedom, so long as it is free to move around the farm, constitutes a danger or a corrupting influence on the others. You do not slay it. If a goat butts other goats, you do not kill it. No, you tie it up in one place. This is imprisonment. Its freedom constitutes a danger or a corrupting influence on others. Precisely, this is imprisonment.

However, let us assume that another—a goat, or a gazelle with other gazelles, a cow with other cows, for example, a she camel with a group of other she camels or bull camels—has a dangerous infectious disease, or suffers from rabies, madness, wants to kill the other animals, or harm them with its germs. What do you do with it? Do you isolate it? If you do, the germs will spread—even though it is isolated—to the same environment and area, and cause danger or rot. As

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soon as the vet sees it, he will say put it down. Why? Because its life, not its freedom, its life constitutes a danger or a corruption for the entire herd.

You see this is in actual fact capital punishment. It involves one whose life constitutes a danger to the entire society, to the authority of the people, to the economic system, to the faith of the people. Even if we imprisoned this person, he would still constitute a danger or corrupting influence. Who decides the degree of this danger or corruption? The court; this is the quarter which can pronounce the death sentence.

If curtailing the freedom of this person means isolating this creature's evil, then we should curtail his freedom. However, even after curtailing his freedom, as I said about the goat [as heard] whose germs can spread even while in quarantine, it should be sentenced to death under the veterinary law.

Let us suppose there is a hope for one who is sentenced to death. For instance, what he had done deserved a reduction in the sentence? What does this mean? Someone was sentenced to death but says: Instead of sentencing me to death, I am prepared to lose one of my limbs, and as a humanitarian act, you should not kill me but you should cut off one limb or take away my sight; cut off my legs, my feet, my hands. For example, someone comes and says: If you give me a choice do not kill me but blind me or cut off my hands or my feet. Do not execute me; cut out my tongue instead. This is probable. His last resort is that he should have a way out as in this example.

In any case, all these things constitute the backbone and we want them to be the backbone of any document issued by the people's congresses to confirm the human rights of the jamahiri society and to be declared to the entire world concerning noninterference in private relations and private behavior. Libyans, sons of the jamahiri society should be free people in their personal behavior, customs, and traditions, and they should be given complete freedom. No quarter of any kind, neither morality police, traffic police, nor any other police, should have the right to interfere. So long as you are behaving correctly, they have no right to interfere. You also have no right to interfere. For example, people today are harassed by the morality police. Such a thing infringes on freedom. You are afraid to go out in the street. At times without cause you are asked: Who is this woman with you? You say: My wife. If so, where is the marriage certificate? What kind of thing is this? Am I supposed to carry the certificate in my pocket?

There should be no interference in such things unless one of the two sides makes a complaint. I think there should be no interference in private relations or behavior except when one of the two sides makes a complaint, or when such behavior contradicts morals and public morality, or causes harm, or corrupts society. If your behavior corrupts or violates morals and morality or is harmful, only then should the morality police and the other police

intervene. However, if your behavior does not constitute a violation of morals and public morality, or is neither harmful nor corrupting to society, then no one should intervene. And on this occasion, the morality police should be abolished.

If one side complains.... [changes thought] Pardon me for saying this: A man and a woman are traveling in a car. Let us suppose that one of them is abducted. He or she should seek refuge in the police station or should go to the police station, scream, do something to attract attention. In this case, the police should intervene. Why? Because someone is screaming inside this car and is crying for help. Then the police should intervene. However, if two people are laughing as they walk or travel in car, why should anyone interfere? What sort of thing is this?

Some people have fled the country as a result of this harassment. They had no political problems nor were they against the revolution, socialism, Arab unity, or Palestine. Why have they fled? Because they could not find their freedom in the street where one at least expects to be able to walk with his fiancé or wife or sometimes with a sister. Why should he be harassed? We are not animals. If no one complains, why should we interfere? If we have not sought help, why should you interfere? Many people have fled because of such interference. The authorities think this interference is revolutionary justice. It is not revolutionary justice.

Private ownership is among the items that must be confirmed along with man's freedom. Your happiness is part of your freedom. Every man should be happy. Private ownership should result from legitimate efforts and a legitimate situation. It is a sacred thing. It must not be touched at all except in the public interest, in accordance with the law, and in a just way.

If you bought a house through your own sweat and efforts, you own it, you bought it, and you built it. Or if you have a farm [words indistinct] with your effort. I mean, with one's own effort—the result of a legitimate production, not theft, connections, or as a result of rubbing shoulders with people or as a result of nepotism or bribery. No, private property as a result of a legitimate effort. [sentence as heard] If you confirmed that this is property resulting from legitimate effort, it should be holy.

Property has to have a legal status. I mean you cannot take land that is designated for building construction in the middle of town and set up a farm. No, that is illegal. It is also illegal to build a dwelling on the main road, to come and build a dwelling in front of a school or a hospital and say: By God, this is my land or the land of my grandfather, and I have built a dwelling here, and I am free and [words indistinct] freedom. No, it must have legal status, and in such cases our status is not legal. It is contrary to public planning; it is contrary to public interest. Roads have to be clear, and public places must have a clear way, without congestion and without houses obstructing their view.

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With my own legitimate efforts and with my own legitimate status, if it is thus, then it should be holy, whether it is fixed or portable—funds, animals, [words indistinct] property, trees, [words indistinct] or whatever. [sentence as heard] Private property is one of the foundations of freedom. I am talking about the consolidation of freedom. Your private property is what makes you free, free to deal with your own private things, with your own private property.

With a legitimate effort and legitimate status, it is holy and does not harm the public interest. It is known, unless we said we want to build a hospital in this area, the hospital needs a surrounding wall, and your house will fall within the confines of this wall. We would have to demolish the house in accordance with the law. There is a law in the country, in every country, which says that property should be demolished in accordance with certain laws and compensation. They will come to assess the value of the dwelling. They will build you another house; they will not demolish it until they have built you another house in another place of your choice. You will say: This is correct; it is not reasonable for me to set up a private dwelling inside the hospital wall. This is what I mean by the public interest. If we want to build a road which passes through your farm, you will be compensated for it because this road is in the public interest.

The sons of the jamahiri society in peacetime: In peacetime they should be free in their choice of residence, in movement, to any place in the world. That means that Libyans should have the freedom of movement to go to Tunisia, Egypt, the Sudan, Hawaii, Hong Kong. Free. However, do not tell me: You said I am free so give me 5,000 of our local currency so that I can leave with it; I have (?5000) dinars in my bank account. Look, every country in the world places limits on how much money can go abroad because these are hard-currency accounts; they are charged to the balance of your country's account. It is possible that one day you will all leave with your money, and the country will go bankrupt. Your money is charged to the country's account. You should know this; it concerns you.

In your people's congresses you decide how many thousands may leave or how many millions may leave for the hajj, tourism, or medical treatment. This concerns you. However, you are free to go wherever your money can take you, and he who is permitted to go can go anywhere in the world. God willing, you may want to go and spy on the Israelis' as far as I am concerned, you can even go to Palestine. Go; so what? If you are no good, God willing, you go; it is better if you do not remain here and if we do not know about you. If you want to go to the Israelis so they can brainwash you and conscript you, good. Let us find out and expose you. We have an intelligence service which can expose spies. If you are concerned about your nation and homeland and want to go to Palestine and you obtain for us information about it or carry out a guerrilla operation, then welcome. As far as I am concerned, you are free to go to any country in the world.

Sons of the jamahiri society must be [word indistinct] free to travel anywhere in the world, unlike the Americans who are forbidden to go to Nicaragua, Libya, Democratic Korea, or Angola. They have a President who has martial law, martial laws; the United States is a dictatorship. Who says it is democratic? By God, it is the foremost dictatorial country. That President sits down [word indistinct] and writes: This country is forbidden, and that country is forbidden. U.S. companies are forbidden to work here, and U.S. individuals are not allowed.

There was a U.S. citizen in Libya and they sentenced him to 90 years imprisonment. Ninety years is a long time. How long is he expected to live? He was 60 years old and was sentenced to 90 years. At least they could have said life imprisonment; 20 or 15 years, instead of destroying a human being's morale [words indistinct]. Ninety years, the despair—he would live in despair. Execution in the United States is by electric chair. It is extremely horrifying. By electricity—they tie you to a chair and execute you by electricity.

We must all struggle to end evil against man. This is in times of peace, because in wartime the sons of the jamahiri society must be present in their society to defend the jamahiriyah. Hard labor has been abolished in Libya, and we will struggle to have it abolished all over the world.

We must stress that the society's wealth belongs to all members of the society on an equal basis; divided to them equally. The members of society can only be different in that each may develop his share of society's wealth or provide more services to society. The society will suffice. Why should we find a poor Libyan and a rich Libyan, or someone whose standard of living is low and another whose standard is high; now, from now on. [as heard] What are the reasons for this?

Either this one has accumulated his share of the society's wealth, which he has received justly, and knew how to manage it; and the other did not know how to manage it, bought [word indistinct], went abroad, and became penniless. The other used it to set up a farm; bred sheep, camels; set up a workshop; or learned a skill. He made it grow. That is alright. It is his share of the society's wealth. One person wastes it, and the other makes it grow. Unlike the past when you used to employ workers, steal, receive bribes, change currency, and other kinds of swindling to [word indistinct] wealth, [word in local dialect] and let him go to hell.

If you make your wealth grow, your share of society's wealth, your standard of living will be higher than those who waste their share. If you offer greater service to society, society will reward you for it. If you learn something that benefits society, society will reward you more. I believe that a nurse's income should be different from a doctor's. The nurse took a shortcut; made less effort; and he, therefore, will be only a nurse. Although we need him, of course. He is needed. The doctor has

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borne a lot and has specialized in important things; he provides more service. Maybe the nurse provides more service to the society than a doctor. How? He may provide more service than required of him at the hospital or clinic.

He may treat a large number of people; he may become a revolutionary nurse and provide a service. Maybe the society will reward him, and his income will be more than a doctor's. As much as you provide a service to the society, not as much as you steal, swindle, and plunder [words indistinct]. Society's wealth belongs to all its members, to be divided among them equally, and they are only different in their effort in utilizing their shares or by providing more services to the society. Sons of the jamahiri society are free from exploitation; we must make them free from exploitation. Those who produce, consume what they produce. You are free. Do any kind of work you like in Libya on the condition that you do not exploit anyone.

You know my views on consumer skills of such as the baker, piemaker, barber, photographer, trumpeter; all these are services which society may need. However, when this door opens, it will admit a large number of people with skills for which there is no need. They will not help us reach the moon, develop the atom and the laser, desalinate sea water, create agrarian reforms, build steel foundries. Things which, in fact, do not benefit us. Suppose that half of all Libyans made pies. How would we benefit from that? The piemaker would say: bring me flour, fat, and eggs to mix together. Where do we get these things? However, despite this any of you piemakers who works hard will benefit from your own hard sweat. It is alright. If you work for someone else, then it has to be as a partner not a hired hand. Sons of the jamahiri society are free from wages and from becoming enslaved by them. They are partners, not hired hands.

Partners and not hired hands—the entire world must be told this: partners and not hired hands. It is forbidden for anyone to hire someone else. You thus take the fruit of his labor and his sweat by hiring him. It is disgraceful to hire a human being. Hire a human being? No. One can hire a camel or a donkey or a plow horse. Someone comes along and says to you: I want to hire this mule to use in ploughing the land. That is okay. But to hire a human being like a slave? No. This is slavery pure and simple. The Green Book no longer exists, and instead slavery exists in Libya, and Libyans are slaves. All it needs is for a businessman to come to Libya and take a member of Libyans and employ them for 8 hours. He gives them five and takes three back; and this is in the best of cases. Slaves, slavery — it is like the slave markets about which we used to learn a long time ago. A human being who is exactly like the next man hires you in the same way he hires a donkey or plow horse.

In the jamahiri society we should be free of the system of hire and its slavery because hired hands are like slaves no matter how far improved their conditions may be. They

are slaves to the person who hires them. Consequently, they should be partners and not hired hands. If 2, 4, 10, 20, 60 Libyans want to become partners, they are free to do so. They can engage in contract work. They can build houses, manage farms, build roads and drainage systems. They can do anything they want to do but as partners. You can set up a company that builds houses or a construction company, but the owners of the company should be partners. No one of them should be an employer who hires hands in order to use them in building houses and takes away the fruit of their sweat, gives them a little of it, and keeps the rest, to come later and say: I am rich because I am a contractor.

We must stress that land, is owned by all; everyone should exploit it with his own effort but without exploiting others in doing so to fulfill his needs. That is it; The story has come to an end, the story that says: This land belongs to this person or that person. If we divide it in this manner, Libyans will start fighting one another, like someone who goes to another tribe to till a piece of land and they don't let him till it. Meanwhile the Americans come along. Instead of fighting each other, why don't we fight the Americans, for instance? We have fought in every spot in Libya. All Libyans fought at Al-Qardabiyyah.

If someone from Al-Jabal al-Akhdar comes to Al-Qardabiyyah, tell him: No, you cannot do so because Al-Qardabiyyah comes within the boundary of the so-and-so tribe. You then answer him, saying: No, my grandfather came to Al-Qardabiyyah where he fought and gave his life. Here are his remains. What would be your answer? This land belongs to all Libyans. Each of them should cultivate it and raise his sheep on it or turn it into a farm as best he can. Land is owned by all.

We have become free from feudalism. We must declare that representation is humbug. We are free from anyone who dominates us. The congresses and the committees are everywhere. Each person is free to say whatever he likes at the people's congresses. We also declare that the house belongs to its occupier. Who is the occupier? The occupier is the one who buys or builds the house, not the one who seizes the house. For instance, you move into a house that does not belong to you. Its owner is abroad or he is abroad with his family undergoing medical treatment, and he locked up his house. You come along 2, 3, or 4 days later to occupy it. This is stealing; this is a criminal act. Just because there is no one in the house does not mean you can take it over. The house belongs to its occupier and to the one who builds or buys it, and not to those who force entry.

We should be free from paying rent. There should be no one like the woman I saw yesterday on television. This is the suffering that is being endured in other countries and (?must not happen) here. An (?official) came along and told her: Leave the house. You have not paid this month's rent. She gave him her own bread, her dinner; she said: Here take this and deduct it from the rent on

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your house. This is because she lived in a house that did not belong to her. See the extent of exploitation. What sort of life is this? She is better off dead.

The jamahiri society is the guardian of people who have no one to protect them: anyone who is disabled, becomes mentally ill, or so sick that he cannot earn his living; anyone who suffers a calamity like losing his house or his farm to fire—the jamahiri society takes care of him through social security. Nobody can come along and say: I have been orphaned and have been tossed about from one person to another or from my cousin to my uncle. No, your cousin or uncle are the jamahiri society. All people's committees responsible for social security investigate all such cases. These cases are recorded at the time, investigated, and recorded at the people's committees of the localities.

All orphans should be brought up in respectable places which provide education, are hygienic, and have people to look after them. All the disabled (?should be) at places for the disabled; all the elderly and those who have no one to look after them should be looked after by society in the establishments for the care of the elderly where they can be treated, fed, and kept clean until they die.

The jamahiri society is the guardian of those who have no guardian. A woman is divorced, she goes home, she is widowed with nothing to live on. Social security will protect her. That is why each of us contributes part of his salary to social security. He contributes part of his income from his farm, his workshop, or from any activity; he pays something to this fund or to this budget so that we can then cover the needs of others. You may find that you were paying for yourself if you become needy. Any human being can suffer an emergency.

The freedom of education, as we emphasized on 7 April, the freedom of education: The sons of the jamahiri society are free; they can be educated in any subject they want and which suits them. Women are to be educated in accordance with the curriculum which equips her for work that suits her. She does not have to be compelled to do the work of men, to be educated in men's education which will guide her to the arduous work of men. No, perhaps women will not refuse, with her freedom she may want arduous work. She is free. This is the curriculum of arduous work! The work of women? This is her curriculum which will lead to that work!

Everybody is free, including in their work. Let us assume I am a civil servant. I may tell them: I am free, and I only want to work 2 hours. Give me 2 hours' pay. I work 6 hours, for example, and I earn 300 Libyan dinars. I tell you that I do not want to work 6 hours; I want to work 2 hours.

What does this mean? It means that you give me 100 dinars. I am free. I work 2 hours, and for the remainder of the time I want to workshop, play sports, or do some other work. I will do this job for 2 hours a day, and give me 2 hours' work [as heard]. Somebody comes along and

says: I only want to work 4 hours. Give me the remuneration. It means you make 200 dinars. You make 300 dinars for 6 hours' work; if you work 4 hours it means you make 200. Alright, good. He tells you: Yes, I want 200 because I only want to work 4 hours. As for the remainder of the time, I want to spend it doing other work. Complete freedom!

You can be educated in any subject you like. If a student at preparatory school wants to go to a workshop, he can go to a workshop. It is not important. If a secondary school student does not want to go to university, okay. If a university student wants to transfer to another subject, it should be available to him. All means should now be available. Workshops should be available everywhere. Education should be everywhere, not only education in schools. No, your teacher could be an instructor who teaches you to combat agricultural [word indistinct]; to become a painter, a builder, a musician, a decorator, anything. Anywhere I go, I should find a place where I can be taught. This is the teacher, this is the school. Other types of education are also available—the secondary school, the university, higher education. People should not be compelled to go through one channel.

Libyans who are abroad: As I told you, perhaps 99 percent of them have gone abroad for very trivial reasons, not for aggressive reasons against the revolution and jamahiri society. Consequently, we again call upon them: He who wants to return is free to do so. He who wants to return and then go abroad again is free to do so. He who wants to remain abroad is free to do so. There are Libyans who think that if they do not return they will be on the blacklist. There is no longer any blacklist! I would like to see a quarter of Malta's population Libyan! Good. Go, he who wants to go abroad and set up a shop in Tunisia, Malta, or Italy. He is free. If that country permits you to do so, then go ahead. You want to work as a merchant, and you used to be a merchant before, you want to set up a shop in another country, then you are free. I wish we could go to some country and find a whole street of Libyan shops. If one goes to Italy one would find one of its islands colonized by Libyans, where they have immigrated, settled, and are engaged in trade and even political activities; free. [sentence as heard]

Any Libyan who does not want to return is free not to. It is as simple as that. He should know this. But his loyalty must be to his homeland, to his nation, and to its cause, so that he may be considered as one of us. He should say: look, listen to me—I want to settle permanently in Britain, but I am your brother and I am with you. He can come and say this to us, or he can say it to us through an emissary. This is just for him to be sure and reassured.

But who cannot come? Who, among the Libyans abroad, cannot come back after the complete and assertive victory, by which Libyans are now making laws and living under a constitution? It is he who knows that he has sold himself to the Americans, the Israelis, and the enemies of the Arab nation. It is he who is currently tying

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himself up with the U.S. intelligence and the Israeli Mosad. This is the one who cannot come back, because he knows that he is compromised. The remainder of Libyans must understand that he who does not come back, show his face, and does not declare that he is living abroad but remains on your side, then this person has sold himself to the enemy. Is such a person a human being? He is a stray dog, that is all.

Therefore, all Libyans, I am sure, at least to absolve themselves, should say: We are not stray dogs; we are not involved with U.S. intelligence. This is so we can know who is linked with U.S. and Israeli intelligence. There are actually only a few. This would expose them and reveal them. But it is he who does not come back that knows he has sold himself to the devil, to the Americans and the Israelis. He can not come back because they have put a halter on his nose and are dragging him along. They have harnessed him like Al-Sadat and his successor. They drag them to the right and then to the left. How can somebody return who has been saddled and used as a mount? He cannot return because an American is riding him and holding him by the reins.

You have seen them, those who were living abroad. They have sent you bombs, bombs and poison. They are staying out there in the United States, and they send in naive Libyans. They tell them: go and die; like the ones executed in Ramadan [the televised hangings in Libya] a horrible execution, the execution that has made me decide that the death sentence must be abolished; it made me decide to bring this matter to your attention.

Who tricked them? They were tricked by those who are used by the Americans as mounts, leading them by the reins; those who are out there in the streets of the United States, eating and drinking with the Americans. They push forward naive Libyans, telling them: go, take explosives and enter Libya, where you will either die or be put in jail. You have caught them. You have slaughtered some, and you have handed back some, and some are still in prison. Who was behind them? It is those who serve U.S. intelligence, which is using them as mounts, holding them by the reins and dragging them to the right and left. These are not human beings; they are donkeys. They cannot come back, because the reins are not in their own hands; they are in the hands of the Americans, the Americans, the U.S. intelligence officer dealing with a group of Libyans. That is his job, because the United States is fighting Libya, and it has found dogs.

These words must be heard by Libyans abroad so that they can wash their hands of this limited and dirty grouplet. Any Libyan who says "I have been wronged" must lodge a complaint with the people's court, the court set up by the people's congresses. There must be appeals and overrulings in this court. I want this people's court to be a refuge for Libyans from any wrongdoing, especially those that may result from the carrying out of revolutionary political and economic measures. This even includes past matters. Any Libyan who has been

wronged, even those whom I have freed from jail, if one of them now wants to lodge a complaint, he can do so. He might say: I have been wronged; I have been wrongly jailed for so many years; this person has trespassed on me or this person had wronged me. If he seeks this kind of redress, then fine—let him lodge a complaint with the people's court.

If somebody has had his house or farm taken away from him and he says: This is legally my property, my asset; I worked for it; I did not steal it; I did not get it by corruption, by trickery, or from the people—then this person can have his property back. Any woman, man, elderly person, or youth can lodge a complaint; and if it effectively becomes clear to the people's court that he is telling the truth, then assuredly his property will be returned to him.

A people's court is not like the revolutionary courts. People's courts must be permanent, not a special court. It enforces laws issued by the people's congresses. It is set up by the people's congresses. I want it to be a guarantee for anyone whose political, economic or social rights are violated. Look into the status of the people's court. Its status must cover these questions, so that anyone can have recourse to the people's court.

Even if a Libyan deliberately stays abroad it is a proof of freedom. He does not need to come back. If a Libyan leaves and stays abroad, this is proof of his freedom. He can go to any country and say: I will live in this country. I am not a fugitive. I assure you that I am free. My country allows me to live in any place in the world.

Why was the law concerning military conscription issued? One reason I will not talk about; I have already told you about it in Saluq. The other reason is that men conscripted for 1 year are being kept for 5 years, and those conscripted for 5 years are being kept for 15 years, and officials who are transferred stay for many years. I want all this to end. People were conscripted off the streets. People have been arrested and sent to the Army. I want to see an end to all this. Everyone should know that when he reaches a certain age and graduates he will have to spend only 24 months in the Army. When he finishes, his place will be taken by someone else.

Whenever there is war, you cannot put down your arms. Certainly, every one of us has to take part in it, and the others follow after. When one is discharged and returns to his ordinary job, he will receive periodic training to keep up military skills. In case of war, all these people who have been trained will be mobilized for combat. In peacetime, the Israeli Army at times has only 11,000 men, and at times it reaches 70,000. In wartime, hundreds of thousands are mobilized, thus outnumbering Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Arab countries like Iraq or others which come to their rescue. They mobilize 400,000 to 500,000. What is this due to? This is due to military conscription which lasts 18 months, and 24



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months, then they are discharged. Others come after, and are discharged. But in wartime, they are all mobilized. This is called the general call or general mobilization.

All those who have received military training and have been discharged from the Israeli Army then have to join their units. They do not hesitate or run away [words indistinct].

During the Ramadan war [of October 1973] the Egyptian Army crossed the Suez Canal and captured all of Sinai after destroying the Bar-Lev line. No more than 4 days later, 400,000 Israeli soldiers came, repulsed the Egyptian Army, surrounded the 3d Army, crossed the Canal for the first time and threatened Cairo; and I myself went to defend Cairo. I went on a night [words indistinct] by parachute, and found Cairo in darkness and the (?soldiers) about 30 km away. I am an eyewitness to this.

There were 10,000 to 15,000 soldiers, and it was a holiday. The Egyptian Army swept them away. The Israelis then declared general mobilization. All those who had had military training had to go to Sinai, and others to the Golan. As you can see, they did not say "why should we go to a desert like Sinai." They immediately met at the Suez Canal, which they crossed. What were those who crossed the Suez Canal doing? They were clerks, merchants, farmers, and so on. Even the military commanders who were summoned had been in agriculture or in health. They threw off civilian suits, put on uniforms, and came to command at the front.

This has to be clear. How could we be chasing him like a mouse from one hole to another? You have to spend 24 months; and I believe there is no one who would want Libya to be invaded from either north or south. We have to spend 24 months under arms, and that should be fine either in war or in peace.

I want the issues that I have been mentioning not be infringed; and he who impairs them is to be considered as a criminal. These matters must be immutable. I want them to be permanent, and anything that transgresses them should be banned. However, the thing that should be forbidden in this society is clandestine activity. What leads to clandestine activity is the prohibition of practicing something in the open. But we have said that if it is an action for the benefit of society, mention it at the people's congresses, mention it at your people's congress. If your people's congress adopts it, it will become an article for the basic people's congresses all over the Jamahiriyah. Then convince the Jamahiriyah about this, convince the people's congresses and it will become a program.

Submit your program. When one sets up a party, he has a political program. fine, let all the people—not parties—adopt this political program. Say: Libyan people, I have a beneficial political program for you. Submit it to them, and let them adopt it if it is beneficial, and let us discuss it, because he who creates a party says: I have a political program for the benefit of this country, and he who agrees with this program joins me. The people who

support him form a party in order to rule and implement their program. Now, those who rule—the people, those who rule themselves and their country at the people's congresses—will implement the program if they are convinced by it. Come to those who rule—the people—and let them be convinced by the program so they will adopt it as a party adopts a program, and also rules to implement the program. The people now rule. Show them your program: explain the program to them; convince them that the program is beneficial, with a view to implementing it, because the people are the rulers.

Then why act clandestinely? This means that you are doing something which we do not agree on, which we, the people, do not agree on; and it is not in our interest; and if we discover it, we will consider it criminal and destroy it. Consequently, you are doing it secretly to take us by surprise in order to sabotage society; or you have something personal concerning your tribe, or your group, or a foreign state. Clandestine activity is forbidden. Why use clandestine activity when everything is allowed? Express yourself freely. The freedom of expression...[changes thought] You do not have only free expression.

You are ruling; you are making decisions. Say anything. Write on the walls and sign it. Once we have read it, return to erase it. And I am the guarantor. Any Libyan can write on the walls, on the one condition that he signs his real name. Once we have read it, he can come to erase it and say thank you. We also thank him for having explained to us things we did not understand before. God bless you, for having contributed to our consciousness. I wish we could read things wherever we go. Graffiti on walls, leaflets on the road, newspapers, radio, in order to be educated, because we are an illiterate people. The whole nation is illiterate.

Truly, this would enhance our culture. They put wall posters in big letters and we pass while driving our cars and read them. The house belongs to whom? Not to those who seized it, but to the one who purchased, occupied, or built it. Partners and not hired hands. This person is not a good person; that person is a person who is being sought by the authorities; the popular committee has failed; a factory includes this and that person; and here there is an infiltrator; or a certain person works for foreign intelligence service; there is a good person and you have no idea about whether he is a good person; or I have an idea about doing this or that, or I have a method for doing this or that; I am at the so and so place and I am not allowed to do this or that. Write; write; write anything.

If you do not want to express yourself on a wall poster write on a piece of paper. If you do not have a pen use charcoal. Write your name. Write your name and say I am Mr so and so and I bear the responsibility. We are free people. If it is something that is legitimate you are responsible. They call you in and they debate it with you. They ask you where is this thing or where is this place; the parties concerned would be saying this to you.



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Clandestine work must be prohibited. It has no justification. The use of force—all kinds of force and not only armed force; the use of muscle force; the force of the tribe; the force of the party; the force of a grouping; the force of congregating [jamharah]; economic force; money; pressure; all these things constitute force. This sort of force is prohibited because it means that you do not wish to convince us. You have nothing with which you can convince; you want to apply any pressure in order that to make us submit and accept. This is not freedom. It is a direct threat to freedom when force is used. You have an army; police force; you have a tribe; you want to impose yourself or your idea; in other words, you can kill someone and then use your force and say: No I am not going to stand trial in court. I have a force and I have a tribe; I have a group; I have a military barracks; you close it and you tell the soldiers: Go and guard from outside. How great! What freedom! This sort of thing threatens our freedom. From where do you obtain this potential?

The use of all kinds of force is prohibited. Everything is democratic; you can speak; and you can do things: You can do whatever you like on condition that you persuade people with your actions. The one who fails to convince us is rejected. Conspiring from abroad is a well known issue: It is treason; subservience; agency.

Another thing; the exploitation of religion. We do not approve of exploiting religion. Religion is a sacred thing. It must not be tampered with either from afar or near. The teachings of religion you can apply to yourself, to your family.

Appeals for the path of God to be followed are wise and good advice; in this way you can go to the mosque and tell people that they should pray and keep the fast because it is a good thing. But those who are sick, or who are traveling, can fast at other times. You can teach us the rules of the religion but you must not invent things: This or that person said this or said that. Or, the Qadyani said this or said that. There are hundreds of people encroaching on Islam. This is the result of tampering with religion. You have seen what tampering with religion has created: It created the Baha'i religion, the Qadyani religion; the Al-Ahmadiyyah; the Shi'ites and the Sunnis in Islam; the Druze; the 'Alawites—all these are the sects that branched out from Islam.

The Koran says that this is sin. Those who gang up on someone, or who follow different sects, are sinners. It says that religion belongs to God and not to people. Anyone who forms a party in the name of religion, forms a group in the name of religion, or a front in the name of religion, he is playing with a very sensitive matter, a spiritual matter: He seeks to steal our minds, he wants to dominate us via sacred things and wants to impose himself on us as a god; or he wants to become a god or a prophet. This is not allowed in any form. This sort of thing creates war. If someone harms religion, it leads to

war. Anyone who harms religion is trying to impose his influence on some spiritual matter. He wants to fool us and plays tricks on us through it.

You have seen how the Arab east, the bleeding Arab east, has been torn into a hundred pieces. Why is it torn to pieces? Because religion has been exploited in social life; in tribal life; in national life. Now it is taken for granted that a Muslim who is not an Arab belongs to the Shi'ite religion. Islam has become a number of religions. He who is not Persian, he follows the Qadyani religion. The Qadyani comes along and says that he is Muslim. The Ahmadi comes along and says that he is a Muslim. The Baha'i comes along and says that he is Muslim. Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani; Sidi [names indistinct]. Countless factions and sects.

Today, fighting is going on in the streets; there was fighting yesterday in Beirut; this one is a follower of this faction and that one is from another faction. Religion is unity—and everyone belongs to a different faction. Their strength disappeared when they began to be divided among themselves and were scattered all over the world.

Here is the holy book, the Koran. Other than the Koran there is nothing that can be taken as sacred. God did not say to us that we are responsible for anything other than the Koran or that he would hold us accountable for anything but the Koran. The Koran is in Arabic and we can all read it.

Clandestine activity, the use of force, revolutions inspired from abroad, and the exploitation of religion are things which are prohibited and concerning which there can never be any tolerance. They must be put on record and everyone should know about them. These things are prohibited in the jamahiri society; and these others are the things that can be tolerated. If you want to follow them, well and good.

When Adam was in paradise he was told that he was free to eat whatever fruit he liked and that he could enjoy life in Paradise. Only one tree must he not go near. He was told: If you do, then you will become a tyrant and a loser. But Satan played on his mind and he disobeyed. He went to the tree and ate its fruit. He was sent to earth and until today we are suffering from the first sin. The cause was this: the fruit was forbidden; and there were other fruits which were not forbidden. But when he ate the forbidden fruit, he paid the price. We also say: These things are forbidden. Anyone who becomes involved in them will get such and such a punishment. We make it crystal clear.

We want to build and we want to advance. We want to overcome underdevelopment and we want to challenge those who challenge us. We want to liberate Palestine. We do not want to be a country which keeps on discovering conspiracies while other countries keep on discovering oil or gold; nor to keep on quarreling among ourselves and to see one person quitting while another person flees compulsory conscription or deserts from the

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Army; or those who desert their units or who come from outside as infiltrators. All this while Satan is laughing his head off. Satan is the real enemy. The Israelis and the Americans are laughing and are pleased to see us fight one another.

This absurd situation must come to an end. We should start to become proud that some earnest action has taken place in the heart of the Arab homeland. Libya is the heart, it is the heart of the Arab homeland; you see that on the map. It is the heart of the Arab homeland.

We want to feel that something serious is happening here and that people have begun to move in a proper direction which serves the future, so we can reach the moon in the future, desalinate sea water, wipe out lice, poverty, mosquitoes, flies, and the rest of the plagues. We must wipe out these things through production, and through work and through rising above the trivialities. Someone smuggles money in the tube of (?toothpaste) and someone else smuggles (?jewelry in his pockets) and someone forges (?a document) and someone seeks help from someone in a position of influence; or [words indistinct]. Why did I say: Take your passport and go to the airport and take your flight? Today, it is embarrassing to see people who want to obtain an exit visa. They go to an official to obtain it and the official starts to get bossy and intimidating and at times he even makes you sell your honor. How terrible.

This revolution has not occurred to sell one's honor. If so, then it is not a revolution. The revolution is to give people pride and dignity; to make you hold your head up and not humiliate yourself in front of an official or someone who is exploiting you or someone who bribes you or whom you bribe. Without being told by anyone you should do this, like the story of the woman who was stopped from leaving the country. The woman is free. No one is guarding her. Why is she stopped at the airport to be told that she should have a guardian? Her husband or her brother or her father told her she could go. Why do you stop her at the airport and ask her if she has permission to leave alone. Who are you? Are you a guardian or our imam? The era of the imams and the era of the (?mullahs) are past. Any woman who wants to leave can leave. You should let her go. If her father or husband chases after her at the airport to stop her or accord her (?protection), well (?that is different).

The jamahiri society is for both men and women. Who says that one must guard the women? Those who conspire from abroad are not wanted by their womenfolk—these men who were recruited by U.S. intelligence, influenced them, and misled by them. They tricked by it. They came here like rats and they were caught by you. These men are fools. If Libyan women travel abroad they are not going to be approached by U.S. intelligence. Bring us any Libyan women who have conspired against us from abroad or who have been

recruited by U.S. intelligence. What is the matter with you, looking down on women and imprisoning them behind bars? All people can congregate at the Green Square. There is no need for bars.

As of tomorrow people's congresses should preferably take place in mosques, God willing, according to the decision of the Permanent Secretariat of the General People's Conference; especially during Ramadan. Mosques are much more numerous than headquarters of the popular congresses. All people who go to the early evening prayers can meet after the prayers. They should also meet after saying the noon prayers and after they say the afternoon prayers. The only exception are the prayers at sunset, when there should be no meetings during Ramadan. All mosques should be turned into places for people to gather and meet.

The work that has been done and which we would like to be turned into a constitutional action has echoed throughout the world. See the countries which followed us. For instance, Iraq has released an unknown number of political prisoners and also a number of conspirators. And Bangladesh released 8,000. He [not further specified] sent a telegram congratulating me. He even abolished the state of emergency which existed in Bangladesh. And there is Burkina Faso—scores of imprisoned people were pardoned in a decree. And there is Taiwan; even Taiwan released 7,000 and they also abolished capital punishment and replaced it with imprisonment; they heard our call.

The entire world should get rid of capital punishment. Lawyers, intellectuals, and students have all received this call and they have begun to back it. They have started saying: look at Libya. It says that capital punishment is a horrible thing and should be abolished. Let us abolish it. Zimbabwe: Hundreds of political detainees were released, especially those who belong to ZAPU [Zimbabwe African People's Union], the opposition party. Afghanistan: they changed all the laws on capital punishment to imprisonment.

And you have seen in Tunisia; Brother Zine El Abidine Ben Ali adopted a decision immediately after you did, releasing thousands of those who had been detained or convicted; and those who were banished have been given back their rights. Korea has permitted its people to go abroad for the first time. Even in Sharjah they released 85 political prisoners. And this is still going on; this is a revolutionary explosion that will have a great echo throughout the world and the document that was issued first of all will be historic. Every Libyan should feel proud. He should not find his country on the blacklist abroad. He should feel proud that there is freedom.

I want all the Arab workers who have gone back home to return to Libya, and all the Arab scientists who have gone home to return to Libya and enjoy full freedom. These people have fled to work in the United States, Germany, Western Europe, and Britain. They have fled

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oppression and persecution (?in their countries). They were unable to do anything. Scientific research is prohibited in some Arab countries. One cannot undertake historical research because it is in conflict with the history of this dynasty, or the origin of that family or the origin of this or that king.

Here someone installs himself for life and there someone is an uncrowned king. People are unable to conduct a political debate and even a dialogue is banned or a Friday sermon cannot be delivered. One finds minefields everywhere. They are restricted and unable to do anything as a result of pressures. No one can talk about liberation or about equality, justice, about everyone being equals. No, no equality. The ruling royal family is not like the rest of the people. No. The rest are slaves and they are masters. This is why they fled. People have gone to Latin America, and to North America and Western Europe. Therefore, I extend an invitation to them to come to Libya, the land of freedom. We must stress this. This is the responsibility of every Libyan citizen, man or woman.

First, you have to be free here and you should hold your head high in the world and be a free person. I am very, very pleased with the high Libyan morale, because the most important thing is that morale should be high and there be no fear anymore. This is the aim of the revolution which we have sparked off and the danger to which we had been exposed. And it is all to bring about this desire: that fear be defeated, and freedom triumph and the will of man triumph over his land and the people establish themselves over their own land and decide whatever they want and no longer fear this or that person.

Let us go forward; the struggle continues.

**Al-Qadhdhafi Offers Arabs 'True Liberties'**  
PM0505085388 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT  
in Arabic 2 May 88 p 4

[Report on interview with Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi by Talhah Jibril at Al-'Aziziyah Barracks in Tripoli on 30 April]

[Text] Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi has appealed to all Arabs and Libyans living abroad to return to Libya, noting that there are no restrictions on the exercise of their freedom on Libyan territory. The appeal was made during Col al-Qadhdhafi's interview with a group of Arab journalists at the Al-'Aziziyah barracks in Tripoli in which AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT participated. He said that Arabs living outside the Arab homeland because of persecution and exploitation can turn to Libya.

He urged Arab scientists and technicians working abroad to place their capabilities at the service of their nation. It is improper, he said, for any Arab to serve the United States or Britain or to join the spiteful crusade camp which is bent on destroying the Arab nation. He added that Arab experts working in the nuclear energy field in the West are the ones who, in one way or another, made

it possible for Israel to have nuclear weapons, which means that Arab efforts are being exploited in the interests of the Israelis. He added that these people should return to their nation and return to Arab land.

He strongly criticized those Arabs working for the BBC and the VOA [Voice of America]. How, he asked, could an Arab broadcast over London radio, and talk about Israel when there is no such thing as Israel, only Palestine?

He continued: Why should an Arab be forced to broadcast imperialist abuse and propaganda in Arabic? What is he getting in return for this? If he is doing it so he can eat and drink, then he can come to Libya and we will provide his food and drink. We should let the British broadcast what they wish to broadcast in their own broken Arabic. They should not be able to find an Arab to work for them because there can be no justification for an Arab who curses his own people and nation. When the British want to call us names they give the job to an Arab who uses his language and eloquence to promote propaganda and hurl abuse at this nation.

He said that VOA, which employs Arab broadcasters, describes the Arab nation as a backward barbaric nation not interested in peace, and says that Israel wants peace. If such a person is doing that for a salary, then let him come here and we will give him such a salary and if he wants food and drink then he can get that in this free land.

He also said: Yunis Bahri, who used to broadcast from the Voice of Germany during World War II, did so to win the Arab nation over to Hitler's side and he at least used to say that the Arabs should protect their territory from the Allies. VOA, Radio Monte Carlo, and the BBC, however, curse the Arab nation. So why should an Arab translate what the Americans and British say and then broadcast it to his nation?

During his interview, attended by an AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT representative, Col al-Qadhdhafi reviewed the conditions which prevailed in Libya before the recent decisions. He said that those who had cooperated with foreign circles in the West had wronged themselves and the fault lay with them, and that those who were liquidated were enemies and allies of Mosad and U.S. intelligence and had been trained by those services to fight the Libyan people. That, he said, explains the liquidations which occurred in Europe's streets. That page, he stressed, has been turned.

He added: On this occasion I appeal to all Arabs abroad who fled from repression, pursuit, prison, and lack of freedom and rights, including the right to self-determination, to return to Libya to exercise all that of which they were deprived and on account of which they were expelled.

He also said: Some Libyans have made inquiries to Arab newspapers about the truth. I want to point out that any Libyan wishing to live abroad is free to do so and he will not

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be pressured to come to Libya. There are some Libyans who do not support the revolution and are in favor of a capitalist regime, but have not been recruited by the enemy. If they wish to remain abroad they are free to do so. They are also free to return home if they so wish.

He added that any Libyan who feels he has been wronged or that his home or farm has been taken from him can take his case to the people's court formed by the Libyan people through the people's congresses. If it can be proved that he acquired these properties with his own hard work then they will be returned to him. So, anyone wishing to return to Libya, live here, or go out again, is free to do so and does not have to seek anyone's permission. If he wants to cross the borders he will find no Libyan authority at the border, Al-Qadhdhafi said, and Libyans living abroad can ascertain this fact. Anyone from any group can return to Libya and see for himself and then convey the truth to the others abroad, he said.

Al-Qadhdhafi added that there is no time limit on these decisions and if someone wishes to remain abroad, so be it, and whenever he wishes to return he will be free to do so. Sarcastically, he said that if the Arabs want permanent residence in Europe, so be it, let the Arabs colonize Europe. He added that the recent decisions will assume a constitutional character once approved by the people's congress, so that everyone will rest assured that this is a permanent constitutional measure that cannot be abrogated.

Asked if any of those living abroad has responded to these decisions, Al-Qadhdhafi said: Large groups have returned.

Regarding those who were unjustly jailed, Al-Qadhdhafi said, they can take their cases to the courts and they will be rehabilitated if they were indeed wronged. The public, he said, has been overjoyed at the recent decisions because even those who had plotted and deserved to die were released. People danced in the streets when freedom was confirmed.

Asked about guarantees that this freedom will continue, he said: The people's congresses will formulate the constitutional concept of that and will lay down the conditions under which freedom will be lost and who deserves prison or execution.

He hastened to add: I personally am against the death sentence and against hard labor. He said that the process of legislating the recent decisions will begin tomorrow, Tuesday.

On the issue of opposition, Col al-Qadhdhafi said that there is no opposition in Libya.

On freedom of expression and the formation of political parties, he said that any Libyan citizen can publish a newspaper provided it is not financed from abroad. If a citizen cannot publish a newspaper he can express his views in a signed leaflet in which he is entitled to write anything, even if it includes abuse against Al-Qadhdhafi,

or he can write on walls if he has no paper, and once the people have read what he has written the wall writing will then be erased. As for parties, a party is formed for the promotion of a certain program. Anyone can join the people's congresses and submit his program there. If the people are convinced, such a program will then be implemented, but secret work is not allowed. What is important, he said, is that views are expressed publicly.

Al-Qadhdhafi was asked if commitment to the Green Book ideas was necessary. He replied that anyone who talks that way does not know the Green Book.

He asserted that after the recent decision Libya has now become the land of human rights and true liberties. He called for the transfer to Libya of the headquarters of Amnesty International and human rights organizations. These organizations, he said, are now located in the West, where there is no real freedom because Western civilization is based on exploitation. He added that the home secretary in Britain, the headquarters of Amnesty International, has recently announced the construction of the biggest British prison; big enough to absorb thousands of unemployed people who constitute a threat to Britain's security. How can this terribly repressive state be the headquarters of Amnesty International?

He continued: Human rights are what distinguishes man from the animals. One's effort is what matters. An ordinary citizen in the West cannot determine his own fate, and I challenge them to give citizens freedom of self-determination and carry out a referendum to find out if the people really want to fight Nicaragua, Panama, Libya, or the Palestinian people. The answer would be a categorical no. The American people do not wish to fight us, but the ruling, exploiting circles linked to Zionism do and they violate human rights. The U.S. President, for example, is definitely a dictator when he prevents his nationals from visiting Libya or working here, and when he bans U.S. companies from operating in Libya. The same thing applies to Britain. Does that not constitute a violation of human rights? Another example: The population of France is 50 million, but only 10 million participated in the elections; 5 voting for Mitterrand and 5 voting against him. So, did the French people really exercise free self-determination? Elections in Western states are financed by Zionism and leaders there are not elected by the people.

Col al-Qadhdhafi announced that all Arab papers, magazines, publications, and books are allowed in Libyan markets and that if a decision is made linking the broadcasting station to any other Arab broadcasting station, we would have no reservations about it. We fear no threat from the Arab world and I tell them that anyone who has a paper or publication to sell in Libyan markets can do so whether he delivers it by air or on a camel.

Answering a question about foreign reaction to the recent release of foreign detainees, Al-Qadhdhafi said: These people have no ethics. They got their prisoners

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back and that was that. The way we see it, if you do someone a favor he returns that favor, but not so in the West. If Western civilization is the civilization of electrons and satellites, then it is not a real civilization. If we observe spiders or ants we see that they do very strange things. A spider's nest, for example, looks as if it was built with an electronic brain. Ants bury their dead and save their energy from season to season, operating like machines, but that does not mean that spiders and ants are civilized. The fact that the United States and Europe manufacture electronic equipment does not mean that they are civilized.

Asked if some people are still in prison, he said that there are a few dozen who had exploited religion in politics or conspired with foreigners. He added: The people will not allow me to set them free because if I did the public would fight them in the streets. So, to save their lives, we have kept them in prison, but we have released all foreigners.

Regarding Libyans residing abroad without Libyan passports and wishing to return home, he said they can contact Libyan embassies abroad and obtain travel documents or passports with which to travel, and they will be given every facility.

He added that those imprisoned in the past were unfair to themselves because it was a self-inflicted imprisonment for plotting. They wronged their own families and brought them into disrepute. They were unfair to us because they turned us into jailers. Al-Qadhdhafi noted that there has been a worldwide response to the recent decisions.

Asked if Libyans living abroad who had engaged in political activity against their country would be permitted to return home, he said that they are free to come and go as they please, and can then express their views in the people's congresses.

Asked if this decision also covers such people as former Revolution Command Council Member 'Umar al-Muhayshi, he replied: Even 'Umar al-Muhayshi. So, if you find him invite him to return and notify him of this and report it in your papers. He will not be questioned about anything. I guarantee that. (At this point one of the people present pointed out that Al-Muhayshi was already in Tripoli)

Al-Qadhdhafi said that he had no statistics showing the number of people who have already returned, and that this meant nothing to him. What is important, he said, is that Libya has demolished prisons and borders and any Arab can enter it without a passport or visa. This is because Libya is the land of the Arabs, should have no gate barriers, and should be a magnetic center for all the Arabs.

At the end of the interview AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT's representative asked Col al-Qadhdhafi if it would be possible to make field inquiries and meet with the

released prisoners and returnees, and to ask the average people their opinion of the recent decisions. He replied: You are free to do whatever you like. If you see some fault or something wrong during your inquiry, then you must write about it so we can remedy it.

## Sudan

**Al-Mahdi To Form Government Within 'Coming Week'**  
*JN051038 Khartoum SUNA in English 0950 GMT*  
5 May 88

[Text] Khartoum, May 5 (SUNA)—Prime Minister Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi has confirmed that he is intending to declare the formation of his new government within the coming week so as to pass the current political crisis.

The three major coalition parties are facing a problem in the appointment of a new speaker for the Constituent Assembly "parliament".

The National Islamic Front had nominated Ahmad Sulayman who is a famous lawyer, but this proposal was strongly opposed by a great number of members from the Al-Ummah and the Democratic Unionist Parties on the ground that he had worked as a minister in Numayri's defunct regime.

Al-Mahdi yesterday official informed the National Islamic Front that he would nominate an independent national figure if the Front insisted to nominate Mr Sulayman.

On the other hand Ibrahim 'Ubaydallah, one of the leaders of National Islamic Front disclosed that the Front had earlier nominated Dr Al-Jazuli Dafallah the prime minister of the transitional government, but the Al-Ummah Party rejected the nomination then the Front chose Mr Sulayman.

## Party Leaders Meet 4 May

*JN041010 Khartoum SUNA in English 0930 GMT*  
4 May 88

[Text] Khartoum May 4 (SUNA)—Leaders of the Al-Ummah Party and National Islamic Front (NIF) Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and Dr Hasan al-Turabi respectively Tuesday held a meeting in continuation of deliberations on the formation of the proposed national government.

Al-Turabi said the meeting which was attended by senior officials of the two parties had discussed issues related to the government formation, the house speaker, and the Council of the State.

A NIF secretary general said he was optimistic that some progress would be made in the way of national accord.

Meanwhile, the Constituent Assembly is expected to meet today Wednesday to tackle the controversial issue of the electing of the speaker.

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The NIF nominated lawyer Ahmad Sulayman for the post but the Al-Ummah Party and the Democratic Unionist Party have rejected the nomination.

Al-Turabi said the issue of the speaker would not be discussed at today's meeting adding that some southern parties were mediating between the NIF and the Al-Ummah Party to reach acceptable formula.

Commenting on a suggestion for the NIF to accept an additional ministerial portfolio instead of the office of the speaker the NIF leader said the NIF is considering all options and I would not like to close the door before any alternative. He gave no details.

Al-Turabi described the viewpoints between this party and Al-Ummah as identical on the proposed government formation.

He said we are working for overcoming the slight difference for confronting the major issues.

Aldo Ago of the Southern Sudan Political Association said the southern parties mediation efforts between the NIF and Al-Ummah Party focused on the immediate formation of the government and postponement of the issue of the house speaker till after the elapse of the fasting month Ramadan.

**Taj al-Din Reportedly Resigns From State Council**  
*JN041054 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1025 GMT*  
4 May 88

[Text] Khartoum, 4 May (SUNA)—Today, AL-MAYDAN, organ of the Sudanese Communist Party, reports that State Council member 'Ali Hasan Taj al-Din resigned from the State Council yesterday to make way for the implementation of a political agreement by reforming state organs to include the National Islamic Front.

Idris al-Banna, Pacifico Lado Lolik, and Mirghani al-Nasri have declared their refusal to resign from the State Council.

**Resignation Report Denied**  
*JN041542 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1450 GMT*  
4 May 88

[Text] Khartoum, 4 May (SUNA)—A statement was issued here today denying press reports that State Council member 'Ali Hasan Taj al-Din intends to resign from the Council to resolve the Council's current crisis.

A statement issued by Dr 'Ali Hasan Taj al-Din's office said these reports are totally baseless. The statement pointed out there is no crisis and that Dr 'Ali Hasan Taj al-Din does not intend to resign from the Council.

**'Violent Demonstrations' Erupt in Al-Fashir**  
*JN041210 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1057 GMT*  
4 May 88

[Text] Khartoum, 4 May (SUNA)—Violent demonstrations erupted in Al-Fashir, capital of Darfur Region, at the beginning of this week. The demonstrators condemned the regional government for its total absence and its inaction in dealing with continuing security problems and securing food necessities.

This was reported today by the independent newspaper AL-SUDANI. It quoted one of the region's deputies as demanding that the central government pay urgent attention to the situation there and choose a competent regional government that can solve the region's problems.

In another development, a deputy told AL-SUDANI that Darfur Al-Ummah deputies have presented a memorandum to the prime minister on the current situation in Darfur. They demanded that the governor be changed in light of the crises in the region.